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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756● 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognised by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. [624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gámúlwa* or *kaha't*,[1] but he is also known as *hanátdwa*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *múlovagldjígdtà*. Jess differentiated between them by *múlwik'ádjá* and *pagámúlwikawátcha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kahuis* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwáhóya*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called *good-man* (information from R. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *kus-ak-kwal* (Trippel, 88a).

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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs: at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman. 624 554 428

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions. 554 624

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organizer of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I [648] [537] 554 756

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756 554 think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

159 624 The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wasákwivámá was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwivámá big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwivámá died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwivámá's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tsyadjáva (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

159 624 648 I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

159 624 648 754 682 When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1858] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [156]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgátú'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Gosiute,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1880 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lowie, (i), 300.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ddjúdd*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live.

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of.

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahaⁿyakitáiⁿp*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it.

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógai and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer.

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child.

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gíθiyᵘ*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gíaámd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans.

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-somache*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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776 cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his
791 maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about
776 to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a
[578] Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's
[428] maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types
756 of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit
787 spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and
791 thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gl̈θiyȣ'*) have spirits; in one instance it
756 was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said
776 that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he
[755] sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatagul'ladmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes
756 before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not
[781] proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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756 If the patient does not improve another shaman may be called on.
755 In fact there may be more than one shaman working on him at one time. No professional jealousy is aroused by calling in a second, it is said. Their efforts alternate, one sings for two or three nights, then the other; they may even be present at the same time. A novice may ask instruction of an older shaman.

755 Little Jim sucked Jess' chest and neck. Although he made no incision, he spat out blood. He said that Jess was suffering from a spirit sent by the being who made everything, deer, rabbits, and mountain sheep. Later the same summer, Doctor Tommy announced the same opinion, for he too sent his spirit into Jess while the latter slept. After a week or so Jess would cough up less blood and the pain subsided; Tommy's spirit would then return to his master to inform him that the evil spirit was gone. Jess added that when hunting he killed many deer, two or three each time. He wasted the flesh, even several carcasses together. This offended the man who made the deer; he did not want Jess to kill so many, so he sent his spirit.

756 The attitude of the people at large is fairly well indicated by these examples. On the whole, they have an implicit belief in shamanistic practices, though the ability of a particular shaman may be doubted and even scouted. Personally, the shaman may not be held in very high esteem—they are half contemptuous of the dwarfed Walapai Doctor Tommy—yet they freely call on him. Now that Rock Jones, a weather shaman, is getting old and deaf, his powers are held in low esteem. They [648] also secure the services of other Walapai, Navaho, and Yavapai, whose practices are similar to their own.

755 Once about 1885 when Lenoman, my oldest son, was about seventeen years old, he was pretty sick. I [Sinyella] got a Walapai shaman to cure him, but he did not get well. The Walapai shaman said: "It is very difficult." Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman" and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy; "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars" and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights, and said the boy would not get well. Then I got a Havasupai shaman, Watahomidja's father. He said, "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness. That sickness is due to your [Sinyella's] dead maternal grandfather (a shaman), who sent his spirit to fetch Lenoman (i.e., make him die)." His spirit could see this. That shaman said, "I do not think I can cure him, it is too hard for me. I think my younger brother, who is a very good shaman, can do it. So go and tell him to come and cure him." So I sent a man by the most direct route to Moho Canyon on the Walapai Reservation to ask A'mal to come. The night he arrived he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather piñon nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gïθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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789 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and
791 the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

● 756 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer;
224 he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while
791 he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*ᵹwᵹdᵹd ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other
756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*ᵹwᵹlᵹvŏᵹ ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*), for fractures (*pakaúd ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*), for wounds (*nahᵹmĭ'dvĭdjᵹ ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaidjĭ ᵹdᵹdmᵹvd*), and for snakes (*ᵹluwĭ sᵹmᵹ ᵹᵹ*). Both doctor and medicine are called *ᵹlᵹamᵹ*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.
[2] There is a mythical reference to a wind-and-black-cloud doctor (*mᵹtᵹhᵹld ᵹmᵹlᵹᵹᵹ'djᵹ ᵹᵹlᵹmᵹlᵹ'*). "Your arms [black cloud?] off and make it dark," he is told (Spier, (*f*), 113).

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

sakàhútaŋa ásá
eagle eagle
ĭnyáhátẽŋe ĭnyanyàhátà
my domestic animal my dog
iyáwaiẽŋe yuwaĭá
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwĭ'nõŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavà, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwĭhaláĭ'dáĭ'dà, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[1] The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" [Mohave informants, Bourke (a), 172].

[2] Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.

[3] These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *alyaĭlha*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthus* van Denburgh), *hanpaipáva*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *hatámáĭá*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus arizonae Arizohyschus*).

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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

758 Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

752 Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
[755] knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white pinon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[1] But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 29–32.]

[171] [2] The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 147) and the Rio Grande Mexicans that it causes rabies (Bourke, (f), 136). This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson states (476) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck.

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples.

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations

[1] Hrdlička, (f), 224; Trippel, 571; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (n), 197; (l), 479; Rourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 339; Powers, 354, 369; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Rourke, (a), 460; Lowie, (i), 292, 294.
[3] Fraser, (b); Hough, (e), 293; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 108; Curtis, 333; Trippel, 577; Kroeber, (g), 62; Spier, (a), 349.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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787 in which the dead, ghosts, or spirits figure are generally held significant. The real test seems to be the subsequent occurrence of an important happening, whereupon the appropriate dream is assigned as a forecast of the event. There is always the expectation that the dream may come true.

[777] Luck is acquired in dreams, according to Sinyella. A dreamer *may* acquire good clothes like those worn by a person in a dream, or edibles such as he had. Similarly, men and women dream of good dance partners and of lovers. If a man dreamed of a successful hunt, he would speak of it the morning following, saying that it was time for him to hunt. If he was successful within a short time, he said, "That is what I dreamed," and all would rejoice.

One man, the most prolific inventor of songs used in the dances, is said to have dreamed them, or rather, to have dreamed of having been in a far country. Whether he claimed to have heard the songs there is not clear. What he saw, as described in the songs (p. 264) may well have been dream experiences.

Sinyella stated that if a man had a nightmare, dreaming for example that he had been in a distant land where there were bad people, he would wake and sing about what he had dreamed. He says, "I do not want to dream this way. When darkness is here, I want you to make me dream pleasantly;" thus he talks to the dark, the night.

[756] Shamans acquire their powers in dreams. Little Jim saw his spirit in a dream before he used his powers; Rock Jones dreamed of lightning and rain and heard the song he now uses; Mark keeps his rattle by his side to sing of what he dreams when he wakes.

159 787 Jess said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake. Sometimes he dreams that his head hurts as with a headache, and when he wakes he is really suffering with one. One morning he said that he had dreamed of many different people the previous night, a pretty bad dream. His sister's husband had been buried the day before and he had cried all day and part of the night for him. He woke with a dull headache and inert limbs. On another occasion he said he had heard someone groaning in a dream the night before. A lot of men around him said it was a ghost; they were afraid. Then he woke and heard a bull bellowing up the canyon. At times he dreams of riding a horse down a declivity. First he stands on the brink and looks down to where the trees are tiny; then his horse jumps down the cliff. He is frightened and wakes.

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But only a week or two later, Manakadja came to see me on a far more serious mission. His son Jasper was desperately ill. 733

The boy had developed a high fever; his flushed face and burning skin told me how sick he was when I visited him at his father's wickiup. There were drugs of all kinds in my office, requisitioned by one of my predecessors, but we had no one to administer them. Regardless of what happened to any of us, Indian or white, I had no authority to summon a physician nor funds with which to pay for his service. Jasper's parents and I did all we could to relieve the boy's suffering, but he seemed hopelessly ill, and none of us could determine the cause. I sent him crackers, canned fruit, tea, any food he could eat, but our supply, freighted out from Seligman and packed down the trail, was limited and the food expensive.

Manakadja had reverted in his distress to the primitive. Linen dusters and derby hats had no place in his life now. He told me frankly that he wanted to employ a medicine man. It was not until months later that I learned what a medicine man did to the sick, so I offered no objection. Usually when an Indian hired a medicine man, he kept the matter secret from the teachers, even to the point of denying it. This was due to his desire to protect his tribal customs from interference by officials who neither understood nor sympathized with them. Because we were instructed to discourage such practices, we usually did just that. Manakadja's candor was refreshing. I could not help the boy, so I told the chief to do whatever he thought best. I really hoped that I might see the medicine man at work and discover by what procedure he healed the sick. [609]

We had three shamans—medicine men—in the tribe at that time, A'mal ("Sack"), Rock Jones and Bob. I knew all three, and thoroughly liked Bob. For years A'mal had been considered the most successful, his reputation firmly established by his spectacular healing of Lanoman, after other medicine men had failed. He was distrustful, I think, of white people who gave him no credit as a healer, and held himself aloof. Bob was a heavy-set 756

2:111ff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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756 man, a good mixer, jolly, with none of the defensive reserve and ostentation of the ordinary shaman. Rock Jones was a stolid, good-natured man. Both he and Bob occasionally rode up to the school for a social visit.

These two had a common distinction: each claimed that a dying shaman, a blood relative, had instructed him in the art of healing and had bequeathed to him his own shamanistic spirit, his songs, gourd rattles and the other paraphernalia he himself had used in his practice. This was the easiest and quickest way by which a man could acquire the knowledge and skill a medicine man must have. Otherwise, he must seek one of the animal spirits created by the mythic people of the Long Ago who had hidden it away in a world reached only through dreams. This took time and the result was uncertain, for if the spirit refused to enter his body, his ambition was never realized.

756 781 If an aspirant dreamed of hunting deer, it indicated his shamanistic spirit was the deer spirit; or his dream might be of a wolf, coyote or some other animal. The animal that came in his dream was the one whose spirit he must own if he were to become a healer. Night after night he concentrated on wooing this spirit, discouraged when it coyly approached only to vanish, but continuing his efforts until he had it safely within his body. Then it was his to command. He could dispatch it on missions to ferret out information of an occult nature, things human beings could not learn for themselves, or he could send it scurrying through the body of the sick to discover the cause of the illness. While on such missions, the spirit could be heard talking to the shaman; when it returned, you could see the shaman gulp it down and hear it talk or sing, telling him all that it had seen or heard.

Those who had not inherited a dying shaman's songs must dream their own. First, a rattle was made by removing the pulp from a gourd, inserting pebbles, and attaching a wooden handle that would withstand vigorous use. This was placed within easy reach while the man slept. When a thread of song ran through his dreams, he roused quickly, seized his gourd and, rattling an

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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accompaniment, sang the song over and over until he had memorized it.

A'mal must have qualified as a medicine man through the medium of dreams, which demanded the deep concentration that had given him such assurance and authority. In the past he never doubted his supernatural power, and his success had been phenomenal. Bob and Rock Jones took their practice less seriously. In fact, Bob often laughed at the suggestion that he possessed unnatural skill in healing. Bob's and Rock Jones's indifference probably was due to old Chief Navaho whose brutal acts had caused the shamans to doubt their own skill.

As was their custom, the Indians who were relatives or close friends visited Jasper, studied him for symptoms they had learned to recognize, and then pronounced their verdict—death! So when Manakadja asked A'mal to treat his sick boy, A'mal went through his ritual for a few nights, then refused to make further visits. The chief appealed to Bob, but he, like A'mal, was reluctant to put his skill to the test, especially since the Indians had predicted death for the boy. Bob was in a tight spot. He did not want to offend the head chief by refusing, neither did he want to comply since he was aware of the fate of healers who, too often, failed. So he asked me to give him the white man's medicine for Jasper. I was puzzled, not knowing what medicine to give him until I remembered that Jasper had a hard, dry cough. Believing it would relieve the boy, I gave Bob a small bottle of cough sirup. He accepted it gravely, carried it out to our gate, and leaning against a post, took a long draft of the sweet sirup. He replaced the cork, mounted his horse and rode away. That was the usual fate of our cough medicine. It seldom reached the patient, unless we took it to him.

Several days later the chief himself came, insisting on medicine supplied by the United States Government. He wanted to see me pour it from a bottle on the shelf. I gave him cough sirup. He held the bottle up to the light, peered through the sparkling red

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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

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622 it must have been something significant, for the heart was the seat
756 of the emotions, the symbol of life. The story was so startlingly
681 akin to Old Testament accounts that it helped me to realize how many years of progress these people must in some miraculous way achieve before they could take their place in twentieth-century civilization.

Another medicine man fell by Navaho's hand, accused of sending his shamanistic spirit to make the people sick while posing as their healer. And the people, believing their chief was protecting them from evil, applauded.

622 Navaho was their Solomon. While I was with them they were
577 still speaking with warm approval of the justice meted out to the young Apache man who escaped and sought sanctuary with the Havasupai while his tribe was being taken to San Carlos by government officials. Navaho heard the man's plea, then told him that by deserting he might cause his people to endure additional hardship at the hands of the white man. Therefore, he must return to his tribe. When the man replied that he would never return, Navaho, without speaking a word, struck the Apache dead. This was the type of justice the Havasupai understood. A tribesman did not seek safety at the expense of his own people.

622 Navaho was "Master of the House" to the Havasupai. He ruled with an iron will, but more justly—according to their sense of justice—than the people had ever been ruled before. He enforced the old customs and traditions: obedience to their gods, the *tobolwa*, full granaries, the dance, the hunt, complete self-sufficiency of his people with no interference from the white man. At his death, the tribe lost its last great leader, a man respected for his strength and courage by both white men and Indians.

622 But his brutal handling of the medicine men had had a devas-
756 tating effect. Every shaman in the village remembered and acted with caution. Each knew that a persuasive tongue could turn the people against a healer, that death was the penalty. No medicine man in the tribe, therefore, was willing to treat Jasper. The people, in a state of indecision, would have turned from healing by incanta-

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tions to healing by diagnosis and medicine, but no medical doctor was available. Washington was too far away to recognize its opportunity to teach the Havasupai and their shamans a better and a safer way to cure illness.

The people themselves had not lost their peculiar intuition. They gathered about the sick and freely expressed their opinion. Sometimes it would be, "Pretty quick, die. Maybe sun go down." If they formed a favorable opinion, the announcement would be, "You get well, four, five suns."

When I was taken sick shortly after my arrival, I found comfort in the more cheering of the two verdicts.

I could not diagnose my ailment; even had I been able to do so I should not have known which drug of those we had on hand would be the proper remedy. Perhaps each twinge of pain was intensified by the knowledge that no matter how ill I became no doctor would come to help me. But the Indians came. News went through the village that Hico (white person) was sick, and they flocked to see me. They stood off a short distance from my bed, each uneasily making his careful scrutiny. They were looking for the sunken eyes, the pinched nostrils, the pallid skin—symptoms that had a special significance. They shifted their positions, pointed and gestured and talked in low voices, then the spokesman pronounced their opinion: "Pretty quick, get well. Indians sick all same, get well all right." They had not seen "the look of death" in my face. They filed out as silently as they had entered, and their visit did me as much good as one from a medical doctor. They had said I'd get well. And they usually were right about that "look of death."

Years after I left the canyon, the doubt Navaho had planted as to the shamans' integrity began to diminish. The medicine men took courage and resumed their calling. Men again placed gourd rattles by their beds and lay dreaming, avidly awaiting the coming of the spirit, the revelation of the songs. Some of these new seekers had been pupils of mine. Among them was a boy named Mark, who learned to rattle the gourd, to sing and to suck from the flesh the spirit that caused the sickness.

Reliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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156 On the other hand, Bob lost faith in the shamanistic spirit he had inherited. When he himself became sick, and it failed to heal him, he ordered that at his death the tools he had used in his practice be destroyed. With scrupulous honesty he refused to bequeath his shamanistic spirit to another or to teach his songs to a tribesman. Like Those of Old, Bob was an uncompromising realist, and I have often thought that in his integrity he was unconsciously pointing the way to a brighter future for his people.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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787 the spirit of her husband, "Tom, heap big Supai chief." And, strange to say, in these exalted moments she invariably spoke in the crude English her husband had taught her and of which she was very proud. Pointing into vacant space, with glaring eyes and excited voice, she would declare that she saw "Big chief Tom. He come back to see me. O Tom! Tom! I see you." Then turning to her friends and others around, she would shriekingly ask, "You no see? You no see?" And thus she gained her name, Yunosi.

276 787 Thinking that perhaps the Havasupais used some herb, drug, or intoxicant, similar to opium, hasheesh, or the stramonium (jimson-weed) which the Navahoes use to produce similar frenzies and visions, I took some of this, which they call smal-a-ga-to-a, and asked several if they ever used it. In every case the answer was a sharp "No! Han-a-to-op-o-gi," and one Havasu informed me it was "very bad. All same white man's whiskey." Indeed, such has been the excellent teaching they have received from their ancients, and the tenacity with which they, as a people, have adhered to it, it may be safely affirmed that the Havasupais use [273] no noxious drug, or fermented or intoxicating liquor, and that they do not know any processes by which they can be made.

●756 The ways of the Havasupai medicine-men are similar to those of fakirs in all lands and ages. I have seen Rock Jones, after examining a patient, jump up and excitedly exclaim: "I can see into your head and all through your brains; down your throat and into your stomach, through your kidneys, bladder, and intestines, and you are sick, very sick, very heap sick. But I am a good medicine-man. I can cure you sure, I can cure

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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you quick. But you must promise to give me five dollars. Don't forget I must have five dollars."

In one case with which I was familiar, the medicine-man declared that the heart of one sick man had gone away to the topmost peak of one of the canyon walls. It would cost several dollars to charm it back, but he could do it. Yielding to the pleadings of the man without the heart, he began to exercise his charms and incantations, and the next day he came in and declared he had seen it return during the early morning hours, and his patient would recover. His prognostication was correct; the man was soon well and strong, and paid his six-dollar fee for having his heart returned to him, with due gratitude and thankfulness.

Another man who had been on the trail of some runaway horses had become overheated and was attacked severely with cholera morbus. He was brought into the village nearly dead, his pains increased by a terrible soreness in his back, caused by severe vomitings. The medicine-man gave him a large dose of red pepper, and, after sucking the flesh of his stomach, bowels, and back, rubbed the body of the sick man with red pepper, and then began his incantations. Soon he declared that a Wallapai doctor who hated the Havasupais had left a long white rope on the trail over which the sick man passed, and that it was this charmed rope which had entered his body and caused the sickness. On the promise of a fee of several dollars, he expressed confidence that the rope could be successfully taken from the invalid, and that its removal would be followed by immediate recovery. After a little time had elapsed, the crafty charlatan produced a long white rope, which he said his skill had extracted. Needless

3:James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
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754 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
164 been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-
[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil
[578] something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no longer need expect any help from the medicine-man,
● 751 whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

776 Spier (p. 389) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the
177 sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former
787 apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, o of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

● 756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasio for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

845 A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in danger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
●756 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the
844 grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

844 Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder, then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks which is inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post, or two posts about two feet apart, were set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

Position and Assistance in Labor

During the early stage of labor an expectant mother usually goes about her work. As labor advances, she walks about until the pains become hard and close together. Then she sits in whatever position seems easiest. Her relatives or attendants gather, and the woman may rest in a semisupine posture with legs extended and back reclining against a post or a mound of bedding, or she may be supported by someone seated behind her, often her husband or mother. During the hardest pains, in former times, the woman gripped the post or pulled on a strap tied to the post. During a normal delivery, no attempt is made to guide or hurry the baby's arrival, but if labor is prolonged or difficult, during each pain gentle pressure is applied to the woman's abdomen by an attendant sitting behind or kneeling beside her. Today the woman's husband does not do this unless he is experienced or no other help is near. However, Spier (1928, 300) reported that, "The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides."

During labor the expectant mother's body is kept covered, and as one informant explained, "No one looks to see how the baby is coming like the white doctors do. The women don't like that. The woman feels the baby coming and tells the others, but they don't look till the baby is all out."
845 During delivery the woman squats, with her husband holding her up. If a

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

775 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
766 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
761 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 754

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [768]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787 784]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

785 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
756 spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
527 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of Sept-
535 ember and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a
[702 prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
648] this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abun-dance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the
[593 rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
[623 intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
595 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
[535 night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
[541 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
674] horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close [291] head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at [133] its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses, [241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed [312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed [342] in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows [86] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the 114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that [756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a [515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great [231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed [648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

649 the borders of his country for all time,
623 and that it remained with him to decide
657 how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

● 756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save per- 683 sonal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

[P. 5528]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [190] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékuchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

/102 cont./

756 for if several deaths should follow his ministrations his avenging tribesmen would be sure to start his spirit on its journey to the
844 after-world. Women at childbirth are attended by four women, not necessarily medicine-women, although they use medicine songs.

171 Except for differences due to local coloring, the
793 Havasupai have the same creation legend and other mythic lore as the Yuma and the Mohave.

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

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Cosmology

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[823]

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

[756] ●

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ʔ°bĭ°djih.

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[174]
[177]

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

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Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [765] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
● 756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time
[759] brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[788] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai íj gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

● 756
[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[755] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

On one dream journey the spirit (on horseback) took our informant to one of the highest of the San Francisco Peaks. It was very steep and the spirit told him to walk around it, stepping carefully in footholes. Under the ground he could hear a strong wind humming as though it were far away. He put out his hand and patted down the top of the peak, saying, "I'm not here looking for trouble. I came here for a good reason. I came here for alot of drinking water." The wind decreased and our informant awakened, not knowing why he had uttered his words except that it was upon instruction from the spirit. 756 ● 787

In his next dream he heard a voice and also believed he had shaken his gourd rattle. Then many short red pieces of lightning came out of the ground and lay motionless on its surface. The lightning said, "You have brought me out of the ground." Our informant reported that the lightning did something to him, that he arose in the air carrying his rattle and went to the north side of Bill Williams Mountain. There he saw two tall slabs of sandstone so high they reached far into the sky. He stood on top of one of these and heard a voice from the southwest saying, "I know you are a medicine man. I don't know what kind. You try every trick. You go around to all the places. I am going to test you." The shaman put out his left arm, where his power was, and made a slanted rock with dirt underneath from where he was standing to the ground. He walked along this until he came to a place that had high, red rock walls in a V shape. Then he said, "It has been hard for me going around. You want to test me. I want to see you go my way and follow where I have walked on this rock." The voice did not respond and the shaman thought it was unable to follow him.

Then he walked in the direction from which the voice had come and he arrived at a village that contained a long, straight row of "cabins." In each were two women. Another shaman, recognizable to our informant, appeared and preceded him into one of the houses. There he sat between the two women and put his arms around them. Our informant was angry and said, "I don't know what kind of man you are. I'm not going after ladies. I'm looking for a powerful spirit." Whereupon he left and traveled easterly until he came to two rock walls parted like a V with a plateau on top. He saw "a smoke of clouds" on the plateau. From this smoke there issued various strange types of birds all in a line. This smoke tried to bring about illness and had power like a spirit. A voice from the smoke said that the shaman had persevered and would be able to cure sickness. The shaman awakened at this point, but continued to repeat this dream in his curing songs.

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Other spirit helpers came to him in other dreams. For example, one night our informant dreamed of a bird that said, "All my cousins, I don't know which direction they have gone to." Before the shaman realized what was happening, he felt himself flying to the south until he finally came to earth near Rose Well [within the eastern range of the Walapai]. He stood on top of a big hill but could not see the bird. Shortly he saw a man standing in front of him but facing east. From the right side of the man's body white lightning "about the size of a stovepipe" shot toward the sun. The man said, "This is the lightning--powerful medicine--that cures any illness." Then he showed our informant where the bird, which he owned, lived, and said, "When you sing, you must call the names of the bird, its nest, the cottonwood tree and everything I show you." They then traveled north a short distance to a place where ice was like a mirror. The man told the shaman that the ice, "like a window that looks many directions," would aid him in diagnosing a patient's illness. At this point the shaman awakened. Later he sang of this man as "the man who is standing up alive." In his dream the man had not revealed any other name.

On still another occasion the shaman dreamed that he heard a voice calling plainly and repeatedly, "Come here. Let's fight each other." This was a voice from the north, which told the shaman, "I'll return four times and that will be the end of my life." At first the shaman didn't answer, but finally replied, "My lives are eight." He heard the voice no more, but found himself in the air traveling north. He landed where there were many people speaking different languages [different pitches?]. Some had squeaky voices like bats[?] and others imitated various birds. One bird told him to go to Rain Tank [a few miles south of Grand Canyon village]. When he arrivered there in his dream, he followed two tracks leading east. Soon he came to two tall blue rocks. He climbed the south one and, half way up, found some barely visible pictographs that appeared old. He blew on them four times until the pictures became clear. They depicted many kinds of animals and some humans. The shaman proceeded to the top of the rock where one of his spirits told him to look at some plants growing on the ground below. The spirit told him that formerly the plants were edible. Then the shaman was transported through the air northeasterly toward Cameron [a trading post on the western Navajo Reservation where U.S. Highway 89 crosses the Little Colorado River; near the northeastern edge of Havasupai territory]. Near there he saw many people coming from underground, and also talking an unintelligible language. This time there were more people than he had seen in the north. The shaman waited until they were all on the surface. They spoke (but the informant couldn't explain his sudden understanding), and told him, "Over by the San Francisco Peaks there is something to fight sickness, to drive it away and conquer it." This proved to be small red rocks, about a foot long, and cylindrical "like a

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

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755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

●756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756 ●

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

● 756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[752] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another 753 756 [164]

shaman was called upon to effect a cure,